

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 NICOSI 00350 01 OF 02 251413Z

43

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
----- 039637

O P 251300Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1004

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 0350

EXDIS

NOFORN

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CY TU GR

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH MAKARIOS

1. SUMMARY. IN JANUARY 22 MEETING WITH MAKARIOS I PRO-TESTED GOC'S LACK OF PROTECTION WHICH RESULTED IN MAJOR DAMAGE TO EMBASSY, RESERVING USG RIGHT TO COMPENSATION. I BRIEFED MAKARIOS ON WASHINGTON DELIBERATIONS OF CYPRUS PROBLEM. ARCHBISHOP INFORMED US OF HIS INTENTION (A) MAKE A STATEMENT LATE IN MONTH CONDEMNING LACK OF PROGRESS IN TALKS DUE TO TURKISH INTRANSIGENCE AND (B) SEIZE THE NEGOTIATING INITIATING BY PRESENTING A GOC POSITION PAPER IN EFFORT FLUSH OUT ULTIMATE TURKISH OBJECTIVES. HIS PREFERENCE IS THAT NEGOTIATION GO DIRECTLY TO GEOGRAPHIC DEMARCATION AND REFUGEE RETURN WHICH HE REGARDS AS THE KEYS TO ALL OTHER PROBLEMS. WE ARGUED AGAINST (A) BECAUSE OF UNHELPFUL EFFECT ON ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS WITH CONGRESS RE TURKISH AID AND CONSEQUENTLY ON OUR ABILITY CONTINUE HE HELPFUL ON A SOLUTION. MAKARIOS PROVIDED DETAILS OF GOC POSITION ON TURKISH CANTONS IN NORTH. MAKARIOS SENT GREETINGS TO SECRETARY. END SUMMARY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 NICOSI 00350 01 OF 02 251413Z

2. EUR/SE DIRECTOR EAGLETON AND I CALLED UPON MAKARIOS JANUARY 22.

3. I THANKED MAKARIOS FOR ACTING UPON HIS ASSURANCE TO SECRETARY THAT HE WOULD PERSONALLY INVOLVE HIMSELF TO PREVENT FURTHER DAMAGE TO AMERICAN PROPERTY, NOTING THAT HIS ROLE DURING JAN 20 DEMONSTRATION AGAINST USIS CENTER SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN TURNING BACK CROWDS DETERMINED UPON DESTUCTION OF BUILDING. I WAS POINTEDLY CRITICAL OF GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE ACT WITH SIMILAR DECISIVENESS DURING JANUARY 18 ATTACK UPON EMBASSY WHICH HAD BEEN A VERY CLOSE CALL, ESPECIALLY SINCE THERE HAD BEEN AMPLE ADVANCE WARNING OF THE DANGER. GOC SHOULD BE UNDER NO ILLUSION AS TO SHARPNESS OF REACTION OF PART OF MY GOVERNMENT. WE WOULD BE SEEKING COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGES INCURRED DURING THESE DEMONSTRATIONS AS WELL AS THOSE OF AUGUST. (SOME INTIMATIONS I HAD EARLIER MADE THROUGH FRIENDS IN TOUCH WITH MAKARIOS, PRESIDENT WAS WELL AWARE THAT I PERSONALLY FELT THE EVIDENCE POINTED TO HIS HAVING CONDONED JANUARY 18 DEMONSTRATIONS.)

4. INCONVINCINGLY, MAKARIOS REPLIED THAT INFORMATION TELEPHONED TO HIM MORNING JANUARY 18 DEALT WITH DEMONSTRATIONS SCHEDULED FOR JAN 20, IN REGARD TO WHICH HE HAD ISSUED FIRM INSTRUCTIONS. HE HAD NOT BEEN TOLD THERE WAS DANGER OF ANYTHING SERIOUS HAPPENING JANUARY 18. I SAID WE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND THIS CONFUSION AS FOREIGN AND INTERIOR MINISTERS HAD BEEN KEPT FULLY INFORMED BY CHARGE BROWN OF RIOTERS' EVIDENT INTENTIONS BASED ON EMBASSY'S EFFECTIVE EARLY WARNING SYSTEM. IN THE MAIN, POLICE HAD NOT LIFTED A FINGER TO PROTECT EMBASSY AND SOME HAD STOOD BY LAUGHING.

5. I STRESSED THAT GOC COULD NOT EXPECT US CONTINUE PLAY HELPFUL ROLE LOOKING TOWARD SOLUTION OF CYPRUS PROBLEM IF IT FAILED LIVE UP TO ITS RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE PROTECTION OF LIVES AND PROPERTY OF OUR REPRESENTATIVES.

6. NOTING THE STRONG EFFORTS WE HAD MADE TO GET CLERIDES AND DENKTASH STARTED ON A NEGOTIATION OF SUBSTANCE WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS, I BRIEFED MAKARIOS ON OUR WASHINGTON DELIBERATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH CYPRUS PROBLEM. IT WAS OUR HOPE THAT QUICK PROGRESS COULD BE ACHIEVED ON MATTERS SUCH AS NICOSIA AIRPORT, FAMAGUSTA PORT USE FOR BOTH COMMUNITIES, SOME MILITARY WITHDRAWAL AS MOVEMENT TOWARD COMPLIANCE WITH UN RESOLUTIONS AND US

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 NICOSI 00350 01 OF 02 251413Z

LAW, AND HOPEFULLY SOME RETURN OF REFUGEES. THESE WERE IMPORTANT ON THEIR MERITS BUT ALSO NECESSARY TO HELP ADMINISTRATION DEAL WITH FEB 5 CUTOFF OF AID TO TURKEY. GREEKS MIGHT DERIVE MORAL SATISFACTION FROM SUSPENSION OF TURKISH AID BUT IN PRACTICAL TERMS SUCH SUSPENSION WOULD BE LIKELY TO RULE OUT AN EQUITABLE SOLUTION, AS TURKEY WAS A PROUD COUNTRY WHICH WOULD NOT SHOW FLEXIBILITY UNDER THIS KIND OF THREAT. IF FEBRUARY 5 OBSTACLE COULD BE OVERCOME AND NEGOTIATOR CAME

TO GRIPS WITH KEY ISSUES SUCH AS FUTURE FEDERAL GOVERN-
MENT WE COULD ASSESS IN FEBRUARY THE EVEN MORE ACTIVE ROLE
USG MIGHT PLAY TO HELP BRIDGE DIFFERENCES. I ASKED MAKARIOS
HOW HE SAW THE SITUATION EVOLVING.

7. HE REPLIED THAT CLERIDES-DENKTASH TALKS HAD GOTTEN NOWHERE
AND THEIR PROSPECTS WERE BLEAK. EVEN ON SUCH A RELATIVELY
SIMPLE MATTER AS REOPENING NICOSIA AIRPORT, ON WHICH HE
HAD AGREED TO LANGUAGE WHICH HE UNDERSTOOD TO HAVE BEEN
DEVELOPED BY US AND THEN PASSED TO UNSYG SPECIAL REPRESENTA-
TIVE WECKMANN, TURKS HAD COME UP WITH NEW PROPOSALS OF THEIR
OWN WHICH WERE UTTERLY UNACCEPTABLE. ARCHBISHOP SAID HE
HAD NOT THE SLIGHTEST INTEREST IN GREEK CYPRIOT USAGE
OF FAMAGUSTA PORT ON THE TERMS STIPULATED PUBLICLY BY ESENBEL.
A LIMITED REDUCTION IN TURKISH TROOPS WOULD BE OF NO HELP TO
GREEK CYPRIOTS. REFUGEE RETURN WAS, OF COURSE, A MATTER OF
GREAT IMPORTANCE.
CRAWFORD

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 NICOSI 00350 02 OF 02 251410Z

43

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
----- 039594

O P 251300Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1005

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 0350

EXDIS

NOFORN

8. MAKARIOS SAID THAT GIVEN THE LACK OF PROGRESS HE HAD
DESCRIBED, HE HAD TWO COMPLEMENTARY COURSES OF ACTION IN MIND.
FIRST, HE INTENDED TO MAKE A STATEMENT, PERHAPS THROUGH

A PRESS CONFERENCE, TOWARD THE END OF JANUARY ANNOUNC-
ING THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS HAD ACHIEVED NOTHING. IF HE DID NOT
MAKE SUCH A STATEMENT, HE WOULD BE MISLEADING HIS OWN PEOPLE.
ADDITIONALLY, WORLD OPINION WOULD TEND TO FORGET ABOUT CYPRUS
AND THE CONTINUED ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF 40 PERCENT OF THE
ISLAND BY THE TURKISH INVADERS. AN ACTIVE INTERNATIONAL
INTEREST HAD TO BE KEPT ALIVE IF THERE WERE TO BE ANY CHANCE
OF A SOLUTION EXCEPT IN TERMS OF ACCEPTANCE OF TURKISH FAITS
ACCOMPLIS WHICH WERE PARTITIONING THE ISLAND. SECONDLY, AND
ALTHOUGH SOME HAD ADVISED AGAINST THIS (THE REFERENCE WAS
CLEARLY TO CLERIDES), HE FELT MATTERS SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO
A HEAD IN THE NEGOTIATION BY PRESENTATION OF A GOC POSITION
PAPER SPECIFICALLY ASKING FOR TURKEY'S POSITIONS ON THE
PERCENTAGE OF TERRITORY IT INTENDED TO HOLD UNDER TURKISH
CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION IN A SOLUTION, THE KIND OF
GEOGRAPHIC ARRANGEMENT, WHETHER IT COULD ACCEPT THE FOUR OR
FIVE CANTONAL ARRANGEMENT IN THE NORTH FOR WHICH CLERIDES
HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO NEGOTIATE; WHETHER IT WAS WILLING TO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 NICOSI 00350 02 OF 02 251410Z

PERMIT RETURN OF GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES TO AREAS ULTIMATELY
REMAINING UNDER TURKISH ADMINISTRATION ON A MAJORITY/MINORITY
RATIO OF 60/40 OR PERHAPS 70/30; AND POWERS IT ENVISAGED FOR
A FUTURE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. HE REPEATED WHAT HE HAS TWICE
BEFORE MENTIONED TO ME ABOUT HIS WILLINGNESS TO FINANCE
CONSTRUCTION OF NEW HOUSING FOR TURKS IN THE AREAS OF THEIR
ADMINISTRATION ONCE GREEKS HAD REPOSSESSED THEIR OWN HOMES. THERE
WERE THOSE, MAKARIOS REPEATED, WHO HAD ARGUED AGAINST SUCH A
POSITION PAPER ON THE GROUND THAT IT WOULD PRECIPITATE
IMMEDIATE DEADLOCK. HE DISAGREED. IF, AS SEEMED LIKELY,
DEADLOCK WOULD BE THE ULTIMATE RESULT IN NEGOTIATION, IT
SHOULD COME NOW RATHER THAN LATER SO THAT GOC COULD CONSIDER
AN ALTERNATIVE COURSE OF ACTION. (MAKARIOS OBVIOUSLY MEANT A
RETURN TO HIS FAVORITE NOTION OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
INVOLVING FIVE PERMANENT SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS AND ONE OR
TWO PRINCIPAL NON-ALIGNED.) IN ANY CASE, ARCHBISHOP REMARKED,
HE DID NOT LIKE THE CONCEPT OF CONSIDERING THE LITTLE ISSUES
FIRST. THE KEY WAS TO FIND OUT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE WHAT TUR-
KEY WOULD ACCEPT IN TERMS OF TERRITORIAL PERCENTAGE AND THE
GEOGRAPHIC DELINEATION OF THE TURKISH CANTONS.

9. THERE FOLLOWED CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE
THREE OF US ON EFFECTS OF A STATEMENT LATE THIS MONTH BY
ARCHBISHOP ASSERTING THAT NO PROGRESS HAD BEEN ACHIEVED
IN CLERIDES-DENKTASH NEGOTIATION. WE POINTED OUT ADVERSE
EFFECTS (OF WHICH MAKARIOS WAS OBVIOUSLY AND MALICIOUSLY
AWARE) ON EFFORTS OF PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER
TO DEAL WITH FEBRUARY 5 DEADLINE AND, THEREFORE, ON OUR
CAPABILITY TO BE HELPFUL TOWARDS A CYPRUS SOLUTION. EAGLETON
AND I SUGGESTED THAT A STATEMENT, IF ONE HAD TO BE MADE,

BE CAST IN POSITIVE TERMS PERHAPS WITH GENERAL
REFERENCE TO ARCHBISHOP'S INTENTION SUBMIT GOC PROPOSALS
IN THE TALKS IN AN EFFORT TO MOVE THEM FORWARD. MAKARIOS
WAS NOT RESPONSIVE TO THIS THOUGHT.

10. I TOLD MAKARIOS THAT INTEREST HAD BEEN EXPRESSED IN
WASHINGTON IN WHAT GOC VIEWS WERE WITH REGARD TO DELINEATION
OF FOUR TURKISH CANTONS IN THE NORTH, WHILE STRESSING THAT
THIS INTEREST DID NOT IMPLA A US POSITION ON THE NATURE OF
A GEOGRAPHIC SETTLEMENT, WHETHER MULTI-CANTONAL, BIZONAL,
OR MULTI-REGIONAL. MAKARIOS PRODUCED A MAP WHICH TURNED OUT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 NICOSI 00350 02 OF 02 251410Z

TO ENVISAGE FIVE, NOT FOUR, TURKISH CANTONS, AS FOLLOWS.

(1) WHAT MAKARIOS DESCRIBED AS "THE SUBSTANTIAL TURKISH CANTON"
IN FORM OF AN INVERTED TRIANGLE RUNNING FROM KYRENIA TO
NORTH COAST TERMINATING JUST EAST OF KARAVAS ON THE WEST
AND EAST OF AYIOS EPIKTITOS ON THE EAST. (2) A SMALL
CANTON IN THE FAR WEST INCORPORATING THE MAIN TURKISH TOWNS
OF LIMNITIS AND LEFKA. (3) BEY KEUY-KORNOKIPOS-CHATOS-
KNODHARA-PISLATOS-MELOUNDA-PLATANIA. (4) GALATIA AND TURKISH
VILLAGES IMMEDIATE TO WEST OF IT. (5) AYIOS SYMEON-KOROVIA-
GALINOPORNE. COMMENT; ETHNIC RATIONALE BEHIND THESE CANTONS
WILL BE APPARENT TO ADDRESSEES FROM POPULATION MAP OF CYPRUS
WHICH IS IN HANDS OF DEPARTMENT AND HAS BEEN DISTRIBUTED BY
MANY CYPRIOT EMBASSIES BHSEWHERE TO DEMONSTRATE CONSEQUENCES
OF TURKISH INVASION. END COMMENT.

11. MAKARIOS SAID THAT AS HE WELCOMED US SUPPORT FOR A
SOLUTION HE WOULD SHORTLY BE PROVIDING US WITH ENGLISH
TRANSLATION OF CLERIDES' NEGOTIATING MANDATE.

12. CONCLUDING, MAKARIOS ASKED THAT WE CONVEY HIS GREETINGS
TO SECRETARY KISSINGER AND REITERATED HIS HOPE THAT US COULD
BE HELPFUL IN FINDING A SOLUTION.
CRAWFORD

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS, BUILDING DAMAGE, EMBASSIES, POLICE PROTECTION RIGHTS, DIPLOMATIC PROTESTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 JAN 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NICOSI00350
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750029-0031
From: NICOSIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750120/aaaaarqa.tel
Line Count: 264
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <28 APR 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <29 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CONVERSATION WITH MAKARIOS
TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, GR, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006